

Q. #1299

ARTICLE BY OSHIMA, HIROSHI, LT.-GEN., FORMER  
AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY, APPEARING IN 27 OCTOBER  
1940 EDITION OF YOMIURI NEWSPAPER.

~~Activate~~ the Alliance.

Shun Diplomatic Passivity.

One cannot fail to be deeply stirred by the fact that a three-power alliance with Germany and Italy has been concluded; an Imperial Rescript has been issued on the subject, and the road which lies ahead of Japan's millions has been made clear.

In the course of the world's history many alliances before this have been made, by which countries have thrown in their lot together, each with the object of looking after its own interests; but this Three-Power Alliance is completely different in spirit, and concluded on quite different principles. As the preamble to the treaty reveals, this alliance has as its object the founding of a new order in East Asia and in Europe, and, by extension, the establishing of lasting peace in the world, and primarily arises from the conception of justice. The Treaty does provide for mutual military support; but this is not an object in itself, and is only an unavoidable measure to be taken should some third power launch an attack on us with the intention of destructing the founding of the new order.

How did such an alliance, the like of which has never been seen before, come about? It is not necessary to stage again here that as far as Japan is concerned, it arises from that ideal of "HAKKO ICHIU", which has animated us since our country's foundation, and of which the lofty and noble spirit is now being manifested in the China incident. And in the case of Germany and Italy too, Hitler's statement in his New Year's Day speech this year to the effect that the object of the war is to liberate all Europe from British oppression and to found a new Europe shows that the trend of thought in those countries is the same as in ours.

But let us consider what will be the effect of the Treaty on the establishment of a new order in East Asia. Our country's stabilizing influence in East Asia has since the Meiji Era been exerted at the cost of enormous sacrifices for the preservation of peace and the upholding of justice, and has indeed achieved a noble record; but we have hitherto shouldered this difficult task alone. In recent times, however, a remarkable change has taken place in world conditions; the interdependency of nations has increased, and the whole world is much

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more intimately bound together for common good or ill. Hence events in one part of the world exercise a multitude of affects on the other regions, and what happens in Europe causes an immediate reaction in Asia. In Japan, there has long been a tendency to regard the settlement of the China Incident and the European war as separate and distinct matters; but they are not two problems and ought to be considered as a unity. This being the case, I think that one must feel that the new alliance will facilitate our plans to settle the China Incident and set up a new order in East Asia, and that the same thing may be said with regard to the plans of Germany and Italy in Europe. We must, however, beware of the emergence of a feeling that everything can be left to the other party.

Indeed, from one point of view, as this treaty calls for our cooperation in establishing the new order of Germany and Italy in Europe, an additional responsibility is imposed upon us, and we have to make up our minds to this. Furthermore and in particular, as there are nations in the world desirous of maintaining the old system, there will be cases where obstruction is offered to the attainment of the common aims of the three-powers. We must not count upon this not happening, but rather upon having to expect it, and the nation, with unswerving resolution, must make careful preparations for this. Unfortunately in recent years there has been a tendency for all sorts of conflicting opinions to arise within the country and for useless and indeed harmful friction and disputes to develop. If this sort of thing continues in the future, we shall certainly not be able to accomplish our mission in the world; indeed we should realize that the result might unexpectedly imperil the future of the Empire. If in the past there may have been a lack of clarity on some points, now, with the conclusion of this new alliance, the great objective for which we must strive, the unexampled task of founding a new world order stands illuminated, as when a shaft of sunlight pierces a bank of cloud. Our people must not indulge in vain bickerings but stand foursquare, ready to burst through any barrier to the achievement of our aims. When a great work is undertaken, certain attendant risks are to be expected. This year is the 2600th year of the Imperial Dynasty. If we cast our minds back to the founding of the country in the distant days of the Emperor Jumu, or if we consider the two wars with China and Russia in more recent times, we realize that the Yamato race has never flinched from danger, but has gone steadily forward, staking its destiny on spreading the benefits of the Imperial Way. But never have resolute determination and firm courage been so necessary if our nation is to fulfill its mission as they are today.

Here I diverge a little from the topic, but a common cause of disputation in our country has been the practice of summing up a diplomatic trend with a catchword, such as "Independent Diplomacy", "Axis Diplomacy", "Cosmopolitan Diplomacy". Catchwords may be all very well for the ordinary affairs of daily life, but to use such simple phrases to label such significant matters as a nation's diplomatic tendencies is impossible. Such glib labels often fail to hit off the truth, and give rise to the danger of misconceptions. And furthermore if such catchwords are used designedly to cloak one's true intentions, the harm they do is still greater.

To return to the main argument, if there are some who consider the conclusion of the three-power alliance imposes an additional strain on Japanese-American relations, I think this opinion mistaken. Our mission to set up a new order in Greater East Asia and our determination to establish a relationship with the "Southern countries" conducive to mutual harmony and prosperity, are already matters of long standing, and it cannot be supposed that the new alliance has given rise to them. Of course in some circles in America there are likely to be those who view the new treaty as a warlike challenge directed against America. But such feelings will certainly not arise in the minds of those who read the treaty with any composure. Furthermore, I suppose nobody knows better than America herself that Japan neither plans to attack America, nor is she prepared to do so. One cannot therefore avoid the conclusion that those who maintain this opinion either dislike the idea of a new order being established in East Asia, or have designs upon East Asia themselves. And I feel we should have to face opposition from these people whether the treaty existed or not. Indeed, should the feeling arise in America that she should obstruct our establishment of a new order in East Asia by force of arms, this alliance is more likely to have the effect of nipping such a senseless idea in the bud.

Ever since the outbreak of the China Incident, there has been much to which exception could be taken in the attitude of America towards this country. But being wholly intent on settling the China Incident, we have put up with this, and waited for America to think better of it. It may well be thought that the conclusion of this alliance gives America an opportunity to revise her attitude. America is not the world's arbitrator. If on the American continent, with its vast territories and rich resources, she will work to establish a new order, and work together with the East and with Europe towards a common and harmonious prosperity, she will indeed make a great contribution.



to world peace and to the happiness of mankind.

The treaty is now in writing. But its concrete realization is work for the future. The present state of the world being what it is, the treaty must be activated with all speed. And the first essential step to this is to complete our preparations for action rapidly. Now what concrete steps should we take with regard to our position of leadership in Greater East Asia under the treaty? We must establish a relationship of mutual harmony and prosperity with the N.E.I., French Indo-China, India, the South Sea Islands, etc.; we must then settle the relationship of this area with the new order in Europe; these are the points on which consultation with Germany and Italy is necessary. From the military point of view too; cooperation is necessary between the nations of the East and the West. We must perfect a plan which will leave no gaps in the bonds of mutual cooperation between the three countries; and in the diplomatic field too, the three countries must march ahead in perfect concord to protect our common interests against any outside country. Furthermore, as the policy of Germany and Italy for prosecuting the war in Europe is so closely bound up with the establishment of a new order in East Asia, discussions will be necessary in this connection also. This being the case, there is a tremendous amount of preliminary work to be done with regard to a relationship with Germany and Italy, and within our own country itself.

Of all things the one most to be avoided is passivity, allowing the other party to make the first move. Particularly in war and diplomacy is this prohibition absolutely imperative. Careful preparations must be made before the event; the world situation must be constantly watched, care must be taken to let slip no opportunities; situations must be handled speedily and decisively. I believe that these must be the principles of our diplomatic policy from now on, and that with this in mind the people must stand solidly behind the government.

The country's policy has already been clearly laid down, so anxiety about the matter is unwarranted; but if by any chance faith in this alliance should waver, or if it should be mismanaged and the treaty become a dead letter, then not only will the dignity of the Empire be impaired, but also the task of setting up a new order will be made more difficult.

AFFIDAVIT

I, Yusai TAKAHASHI, certify that from 1933 until December 1945 I was editor-in-chief of the "Yomiuri Shinbun" and that I recognize the attached International Prosecution Section document number 587A as an article written under the name of Hiroshi OSHIMA appearing in the Yomiuri Shinbun of October 27, 1940.

I further certify that the above mentioned article was published under the name of Hiroshi OSHIMA with his consent.

/s/ Yusai Takahashi  
Yusai TAKAHASHI

/s/ Hiram E. Newbill Witness  
Hiram E. Newbill

Sworn before me this 8th day of November 1946 at Tokyo, Japan.

/s/ Eric W. Fleisher  
ERIC W. FLEISHER  
2d Lt, AUS, MI  
Investigator, IPS

Doc. No. 587A

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又連綿を三年十二、一より自序の最まで知りて其意を思ふ。

從子九思說 子之六 東監二子之新秩序 建設 嘉平子之 東監二子之 何二子

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我國支那事業之發展，專念之下，力對其真實答之，乃又省其後，乃其全。

此下有力トシ、スルカウ本同盟、成立スルヲ又省、森會司與シタル者ニテモヤリ。

アメリカ世界に富利有るナキ。モアメリカが廣大土地、豐富資源ヲ有スル米大陸ニ

新秩序建設ニ努メ東洋五三歐洲ト有無相通ルヲ英蒙共ニ爲メ圖ルニ大ニ貢

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二、缺點：(一)主權完全在計畫者手中，(二)不信任外國，(三)對外外交共同利益，(四)多事。

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新秩序建設に密接ナル關係ガ有ルヲ以テ之ニテハ要スルニ相談ニ付カラズバウ又

方考<sup>目上</sup>、獨伊<sup>ト</sup>、獨保<sup>ニテ</sup>モ、<sup>ニ</sup>ラ<sup>ク</sup>國<sup>ニ</sup>自<sup>ラ</sup>本<sup>ニ</sup>モ<sup>ト</sup>モ<sup>ト</sup>、<sup>ニ</sup>テ<sup>ニ</sup>夫<sup>レ</sup>之<sup>ニ</sup>造<sup>ル</sup>備<sup>ハ</sup>頗<sup>ル</sup>多<sup>ク</sup>ナ<sup>リ</sup>。

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對其後念動搖「未」或「又」其連發言「予」得「言」條約「死」文化「七」之「二」  
「佛」造「魂」人「之」如「上」於「北」之「皇國」威「信」聞「之」「三」之「六」新「款」予「其」設「之」  
各「易」成「就」之「予」得「言」之「予」(「摩」者「之」上「之」野「劍」大「侵」之「陸」軍「中」將)

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Eric W. Fleisher / 署名

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